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his sentiments openly and without dread to his constituents, deserves the respect and approbation of every honourable man:

Resolved,

That convinced of Sir Francis Burdett's honourable motives and conduct, we cannot but join in the sympathy of every true-hearted Briton; and whilst we lament the loss which the country sustains by his detention at this momentous crisis from parliament, earnestly hope that the house of commons will, in conformity with the sense and wishes of the people, quickly restore to the country a zealous and inflexible friend.

That we beg leave to return to Sir Francis Burdett our unqualified thanks for his manly and constitutional conduct on all occasions, and to express a strong hope, amounting even to confidence, that the integrity of a British judge, and the impartiality of a British jury, will secure to him his rights, and with them the rights of Britons.

JOHN JONES, Chairman.

TO SIR F. BURDETT, A PRISONER IN THE TOWER.

The Address of the Freeholders of Middlesex, in Full County Assembled.

SIR—With the name of Hampden, consecrated to the eternal gratitude and veneration of Englishmen, for having resisted the illegal exercise of power by a King, the present and future ages will couple the name of Burdett, for having resisted an illegal exercise of power by a house of commons.

To you we are indebted for having caused discussions which have done honour to our age and nation: but such a variety of principles have been shaken in the strange proceedings against you, that the extent of our obligations to you, first, for your constitutional doctrine, and then for your resisting the violators of our constitution, cannot as yet be estimated. We trust the obligations will prove beyond all estimate; as we trust they must terminate in a restoration of that violated constitution.

Whatever, sir, may be the prostitution within certain walls, whatever may be the profligate abuse and peculation of office, we may, however, congratulate our country, that she has yet able defenders of her rights, who with you, are rallying around our two-fold constitution:—a constitution that hath not only a law, which is “the perfection of reason,” but whenever that law may meet with lawless opposers, hath also “a sword of its own,” without needing to borrow any other, native or foreign, for the sure and resistless enforcement of that law.

Inquiry, sir, is now awake, and at work, reason, founding itself on constitutional principle, hath now to decide, whether, for either keeping the peace, or for enforcing any process of English law, recourse ought to be ultimately had to the county power, or to the standing army: that is, shall the peace and the law of England, be upheld by the civil power, or by a military force?

It is, in fact to be decided, whether governments (whatever be their form, or their current denomination) are not definable to be civil governments, or military governments, that is, free states, or despotisms, as they shall ultimately resort, for execution of their laws, to the civil power, or to a military force.

The county power of England, which has been aptly called the martial branch of the constitution, is yet strictly a civil power, being composed of free citizens only; whereas the standing army is wholly a military force, composed of “soldiers;” who, from the nature of the military law to which they are subject, are not free citizens; and according to Sir W. Jones, “in fact, no more than instruments in the hands of their commanders.”

When (as remarked by Blackstone) “the laws and constitution of this kingdom know no such state as that of a perpetual standing soldier;” and when (as observed by Sir W. Jones) the power of the county includes the whole civil state, from the duke to the peasant; while the military state, as such, forms no part of that power, being under a different command, and “subject to a different law; must it not follow, that the law cannot be carried into execution by the standing army? that being an instrument it does not know, an instrument “under a different command,” and “subject to a different law.”

And when Blackstone, concurring with numberless writers of the highest authority, and with every intelligent man's reflection, also remarks, that “in a land of liberty, it is extremely dangerous to make a distinct order of the profession of arms;” and likewise adds, “in absolute monarchies this is necessary for the safety of the prince, and arises from the main principle of their constitution, which is that of governing by fear,” will it be possible sir, any longer to doubt that it is the design of ministers to bring us under an “absolute monarchy,” especially when we shall combine together all their arts and all their practices to that end? Do we not hear our English government, by ministers, by court lawyers, and by all abettors of arbitrary power, perpetually called a monarchy, which is a government where

one man's will is the law? Do we not hear our king as constantly styled a monarch? And ever since the dreadful riots in 1780, when Sir. W. Jones took occasion to complain that our county power "had been shamefully neglected, and ought to be restored to full vigour and energy," has not that county power from that day to this, now thirty years, continued in the same shamefully neglected condition, unorganized, unarmed, untrained? And for what conceivable reason can there have been this shameful neglect, but that it might be divested of all power and respect, and then, as a thing useless and contemptible, be wholly superseded in the quelling of riots? And have we not accordingly seen on all occasions the standing army officiously and ostentatiously called forth on every frivolous disorder in the streets, as well as uniformly paraded and held in readiness whenever the people are to have meetings on public affairs, so that the nation, "governed by fear," may quietly yield to "absolute monarchy?"

If, sir we be correct in our conception of the county power, it is as old as the constitution and common law, and vital to our liberties.

The standing army is a novelty of yesterday; and when not constitutionally overbalanced by the county power, "in full vigour and energy," must be dangerous in the extreme to public freedom.

A county power is the sword in the hand of the nation, regulated by the ordinary law of the land. Its sole object self preservation—that is, the preservation of law and liberty.

A standing army is the sword in the hand of the minister; and we have recently seen how prone ministers are to find other objects for this sword than those which should seem to be its only legitimate ones, namely, offensive war abroad, and defence of external possessions; because, a species of force which is a comparative novelty both in principle and practice with our government, as well as utterly unknown to "the laws and constitution," never could have for its object the defence of our island; which, as already shown, was most amply provided for defence in the original institution of our government; since all the county powers collectively must amount to far more than a million of men able to bear arms, and willing to defend their king, their country, and their constitution. The conquests of the standing army abroad, ought only to be over our enemies—its conquests at home, if it be to obey the will of ministers and to have its operations directed by

the analogy of time-serving lawyers, can only be over our laws and liberties.

We would therefore, sir, gladly know, why ministers and parliament do not in obedience to the constitution, and in the honest performance of their own duty, "restore to full vigour and energy," the county power, which, in the very infancy of its organization by the immortal Alfred, freed England of invaders, who had mastered half the counties, or converted those invaders into peaceable and loyal subjects!

And we would also gladly hear the reasons why, ministers and parliament, while neglecting a duty so obvious, and so impetuous, spare neither pains nor expense—an expense, paid by the people, for adding to our vast standing army, another numerous standing army of Germans, Sicilians, French, Portuguese, and other foreign mercenaries; seeing at the same time, that France is so strong by land, we cannot annoy her by offensive war; and so weak by sea, she cannot even alarm our external possessions in any part of the globe!

A county power, although the resistless arm of the law, being yet a free part of a free community, must know, that to violate law, would be to violate its own liberty; and must ever be alive to the feeling, that, to preserve the common liberty must be the first and most sacred of its duties.

Concerning a standing army, an acute writer asks—"Is it not possible, that these keepers of ours may come to resemble a seraglio, and hate the very name of liberty, when totally deprived of their own?" And, "a standing army," it has been remarked, "ever has converted, and ever must convert, men into machines. The individuals of a standing army, when they receive orders, cast away the judgment, the moral discretion, and the will of rational beings. Obedience with them is the law and the prophets; and he that gives the order, they think, is the only person answerable for it."

Should England's liberties survive the settled establishment of a standing army, she will be the only country on earth which in that predicament, ever remained free. This, as yet unseen phenomenon (the co-existence of a standing army, and liberty) it doubtless is in her power to exhibit to the admiring eyes of mankind;—but, it can only be effected by "restoring to full vigour and energy, her county power." That once done, the standing army would no longer be an object of fear and jealousy; but must thenceforth be viewed in the amiable light of a body of men devoting themselves to the interest and glory

of their country, in all her foreign services.

Ignorant and weak men imposed upon by the crafty and the knavish, are taught to believe, that the civil power of England is inadequate to the quelling of riots. But what says that faithful expounder of the law, that "most enlightened of the sons of men," Sir William Jones?

"Having shown," says he, "the nature and extent of the posse comitatus, and proved that it is required by law to be equal in its exertion to a well disciplined army, I have established the proposition, which I undertook to demonstrate, that the common and statute laws of the realm, in force at this day, give the civil state in every county a power, which, if it were perfectly understood and continually prepared, would effectually quell any riot or insurrection, without assistance from the military, and even without the modern Riot act."

And one who has carefully trod in the steps of Jones, has also shown that "an internal tranquillity which nothing could disturb, would be another happy effect of reviving the constitutional system of our ancestors. An armed power of the country, every where present, constantly ready at the call of the magistrate, and abundantly able to crush all resistance, must have the effect of preventing tumult, which a standing army can only quell."

In 1794, "while soldiers were quartered at York, rioters razed to the ground the houses of magistrates at Sheffield;—while soldiers were stationed at Nottingham, rioters set Birmingham in flames." This conflagration made a feature in the reign of terror, in support of the minister Pitt; and was effected by a rabble of miscreants, bellowing "Church and King," as similar rabbles have more recently, in the service of another minister, vociferated "no Popery!" and during the ministry of Lord North, while the country was full of soldiers, "the capital was in flames, and at the mercy of the veriest brutes that ever bore human shape." Such is the protection of a standing army! But, if it were better, who would purchase it at the loss of liberty—at a surrender to military despotism! If the standing army be native, what must the men of it feel, when either, on occasion of petty riots, obeying orders, and shooting their countrymen and companions—perhaps their fathers and brothers, or women and quiet tradesmen in their shops, or else for disobeying such orders, liable to suffer death by martial law?

Against the light which the brightest

luminary of the age had beamed in meridian splendour on the subject of the county power, proving it to be equally our sure, as our "legal" protection, whether assailed by rioters, with their mud, their stones, and their torches; or by a Napoleon, with his dukes, his kings, and his legions, ministers and parliaments, with a perverseness and obstinacy, which have but one explanation, have inflexibly refused to their country the benefit of that light, or to adopt a "legal mode of suppressing riots."

Thirty years long, therefore, have we felt the military rod of an evil generation of statesmen, haters of light, and truth, and liberty; lovers of darkness, deceit, and despotism, who, in contempt of proof and demonstration, have as absurdly as incessantly laboured to cause it to be believed, that a standing army are legal keepers of the peace, and that foreign mercenaries are a constitutional and an honourable defence!

To your patriotism, we shall have been indebted for a discussion of these high questions, and all that is collateral. To your firmness, we shall owe much, very much, of the benefits to be derived from the inquiries which now occupy all minds.

We particularly thank you, enlightened countryman, for continuing your resistance to right the point; that is, until your house, in law your sacred place of repose, was forced by military violence. Had you sooner submitted, our oppressors would only have been guilty, of once more repeating the stale and hackneyed illegality of keeping the peace by military force. But you have extorted from tyranny a manifestation of its latent wickedness.

This new stretch of arbitrary power of executing legal process against an Englishman by military force, is to be considered as the minister's proclamation, that we are henceforth to consider ourselves as living under a military government, subject to the law of arms, and to the dominion of the sword. Here, Sir, is ample matter for our contemplation! Is this the goal to which we have been led by privilege?

Had you, sir, reeled beastly drunk into the house of commons, made a scandalous brawl, and thrown a chair at the head of the Speaker, it may even be doubted whether you would have incurred more than a momentary displeasure, although the dignity of the assembly might have required the form of a reprimand.

Or had you, as a base traitor to the constitution, even sold its seats by dozens at noon-day, some are of opinion the pro-

fanation, although it might have shocked the piety of the Speaker, might have been passed over even without inquiry.

Why then are you in the tower?—Our hearts tell us it is because you are Sir Francis Burdett—because your presence is painful to the seat-selling crew—because to all unprincipled factions contending for power and pelf you are a common enemy : one who, equally regardless of ins or of outs, looks neither to the right hand nor to the left, but only straight forward to the constitution and the liberties of your country.

Imprisonment, sir, is not in itself en-
viable; but it may be made so. To you,
it is a just cause of exultation. You triumph. Your enemies only are degraded. Intending to involve you in public odium, they accused you of unconstitutional conduct, of violence, and of shedding innocent blood. But odium recoils; the false and feeble accusation has, by an awful public voice, at which they tremble, been hurled back in thunder on themselves, and they are universally pronounced invaders of the constitution, men of violence, men of blood—endeavouring to lower your reputation, they have doubled the public con-

fidence in your knowledge, your wisdom, your integrity.—Meaning punishment, they have conferred reward. Deserving disgrace, they have bestowed on you the highest honour in their gift—their own impotent malice! But, panic stricken, to shun danger they rush on destruction, they saw not, that, in violating your person, they were promoting your purpose; in forcing you from your seat, they were forwarding your work; in the persecution of the reformer, they were accelerating reform!

Infatuation thus frustrated all their counsels, foreign or domestic. But what then?—It pleaseth our borough-monger sovereigns that such men shall rule the law. And are they not fit servants of such masters?

Accept, illustrious Countryman, once more, the thanks of our hearts; together with our earnest prayers to Heaven for your health; that you may, ere long, renew your parliamentary exertions, in co-operation with the honest, among your brethren of the house, and all other good men, towards a complete restoration of our two-fold constitution, for the salvation of our country!

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

ULSTER.

A few inhabitants of Belfast observing the impracticability of their children having justice done them in their education at the public schools, in consequence of those schools being so much crowded, that the teachers have it not in their power to do (however well disposed) their duty to all their scholars—have adopted a plan, which they conceive likely to turn out much to the advantage of their children, with a considerable saving to themselves.

They have engaged a young man of abilities as a teacher, at a stated salary, providing him with a house, and the necessary furniture, at their own expense; no greater number of scholars than 25 can be admitted; the subscribers defraying the whole expense in proportion to the number of children each may have at school, the management to be under the controul of a committee of themselves.

It is worthy of remark, that the young man above alluded to has received his education at the Belfast weekly, or Sunday-school; and, upon due examination, has been found perfectly capable of teaching English, Writing, and Arithmetic; being all the branches attempted to be taught at that useful seminary.

How gratifying to the soul of humanity, to find that institution rising to such eminence, by the exertions of a few philanthropic individuals, mostly composed of young men, who willingly appropriate that time (applied by others to amusement on Sundays) for the purpose of instructing those whose situation in life renders it impossible by other means to obtain education.

By this means a double purpose is served; those children who would otherwise be wandering the streets on Sundays, contracting habits of vice, are

usefully employed in storing their minds with knowledge during school hours; and a degree of emulation is so far excited, that numbers of them are learning their lessons at home, when in other circumstances they might, and in all probability would, be wasting their time in idleness or mischief.

Married.... At Coleraine, Robert Kyle, esq. of Laurel-hill, to Miss Murray of Cookstown.

Mr. Wm. Waugh of Londonderry, to Miss Cochran of Artcliffe, near Coleraine.

Mr. Michael Mooney to Miss Bullen, both of Belfast.

Mr. Peter McCormick to Miss Stitt, both of Belfast.

Mr. John Marshall, of Milltown, to Miss Crockett, of Newtowncunningham.

Mr. Benjamin Storey, to Miss E. Reilly, both of Newry.

Mr. Anthony Davison, of Killileagh, to Miss E. Russel, of Ballymacconnell.

Surgeon Johnston, of the navy, to Miss Armstrong, of Brookborough.

Mr. Phillip Watson, captain of the ship Perseverance, to Miss Brown of Kinsale.

Mr. John Munn, to Miss Haslett, both of Derry.

Died.... At Belfast, Mr. John Smylie.

At Dundonald, the Rev. Jacob Haslett.

Near Coagh, Mrs. Boyle.

Mrs. Morrell, of Ballyquin, co. Derry.

At Antrim, Mr. Alexander Kirkpatrick.

Mrs. Cochran, of Coleraine.

At Carnmoney, Mrs. Jane Staunton.

A Lifford, Mr. David Pyke, and Mr. John Evans, aged 90.

Rev. E. Storey, of Boked, co. Cavan.

Mr. Samuel Robinson, of Waring-street, Belfast.